

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STOCKH 04231 070859Z

15  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
----- 044569

R 061438Z AUG 76  
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8316  
INFO SECDEF WASHDC  
CSAF WASHDC

S E C R E T STOCKHOLM 4231  
EXDIS  
E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: MASS, PFOR, BEXP, SW, IN  
SUBJECT: IMPLICATIONS OF SAAB-SCANIA REQUEST FOR U.S. PERMISSION  
TO EXPORT VIGGEN TO INDIA

REF: (A) STOCKHOLM 4230 (DTG 061437Z), (B) STATE 192694  
(DTG 041343Z)(NOTAL)

1. AS REPORTED IN REF A, I HAVE NOTIFIED SAAB-SCANIA PRESIDENT MILEIKOWSKY OF NEGATIVE USG RESPONSE TO INFORMAL REQUEST FOR EXPORT OF VIGGEN AIRCRAFT TO INDIA AND LICENSE TO MANUFACTURE SUCH AIRCRAFT TO INDIA.
2. I AM DISTURBED BY THE IMPLICATIONS CONTAINED IN PARA THREE, REF B, WHICH STATES THAT USG HAS INTERPRETED GOS DESIRE FOR MILITARY COOPERATION WITH US AS REFLECTING SWEDISH DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN A CREDIBLE DEFENSE POSTURE OF ITS OWN AND NOT RPT NOT FOR THE PURPOSE OF THIRD COUNTRY EXPORTS. SAME PARA NOTES THAT USG WILLINGNESS TO PROVIDE MILITARY COOPERATION HAS BEEN BASED ON ASSUMPTION THAT US MILITARY R&D WOULD NOT BE TRANSFERRED TO THIRD COUNTRIES, AND RAISES QUESTION AS TO WHETHER GOS POLICY IN THESE AREAS IS CHANGING.
3. IT IS THE FIRM CONVICTION OF THE COUNTRY TEAM THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO RPT NO CHANGE IN SWEDISH OBJECTIVES. BASIC SWEDISH AIM REMAINS TO MAINTAIN A CREDIBLE MILITARY

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STOCKH 04231 070859Z

FORCE AS DETERRENT TO POTENTIAL SOVIET ATTACK. THIS

DETERRENT HAS BEEN BASED ON SWEDEN'S MOST ADVANCED WEAPONS SYSTEMS, THE SUPERSONIC VIGGEN AJ-37. IN VIEW OF HEAVY UNIT COST OF SUCH SOPHISTICATED AIRCRAFT, SWEDES HAVE STUDIED POSSIBILITIES OF LIGHTENING THIS BURDEN BY EXPORTING VIGGEN TO CAREFULLY SELECTED COUNTRIES ABROAD, AND APPROACH BY SAAB-SCANIA REFLECTED THIS EFFORT TO MARKET VIGGEN ABROAD, WITHIN GUIDELINES OF SWEDISH ARMS EXPORT POLICY.

4. IN THEIR CONVERSATIONS WITH US, SENIOR SWEDISH OFFICIALS HAVE EMPHASIZED THAT MOST IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION TO GOS HAS BEEN THE PRESERVATION OF COOPERATION WITH US ON MILITARY R&D, WHICH THEY RECOGNIZE AS VITAL TO MAINTENANCE OF A VIABLE SWEDISH DEFENSE EFFORT. THEY HAVE ALSO STRESSED THAT SALE OF VIGGEN TO INDIA WAS OF SECONDARY CONSIDERATION TO THEM IN COMPARISON WITH VALUE OF MILITARY COOPERATION WITH U.S. BOTH ANDERS THUNBORG, SECRETARY OF STATE AND CHAIRMAN OF ROYAL DEFENSE COMMISSION, AND KNUT THYBERG, MFA OFFICIAL RESPONSIBLE FOR ARMS EXPORTS, HAVE MADE THIS POINT TO ME AND TO SENIOR MEMBERS OF MY STAFF. THE FACT THAT APPROACH TO THE EMBASSY ON POSSIBLE EXPORT OF VIGGEN TO INDIA WAS MADE BY SAAB-SCANIA AND NOT BY SWEDISH GOVERNMENT, REFLECTED NOT ONLY RELUCTANCE OF GOS TO SELL VIGGEN TO INDIA BUT ALSO DETERMINATION OF GOS NOT TO TAKE ANY ACTION WHICH WOULD JEOPARDIZE OUR COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP.

5. IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE, WE SEE NO RPT NO BASIS FOR INFERRING THAT APPROACH BY SAAB-SCANIA TO EXPORT VIGGEN REFLECTED ANY CHANGE WHATSOEVER IN EITHER SWEDISH ARMS EXPORT POLICY OR, MORE IMPORTANTLY, ON VALUE WHICH GOS ACCORDS TO OUR COOPERATION IN FIELD OF MILITARY R&D.

6. WITH REGARD TO ALLEGED TRANSFER OF SWEDISH BUILT LASER RANGE FINDERS FROM YUGOSLAVIA TO EGYPT, WE ARE NOT IN A POSITION HERE TO VERIFY WHETHER SUCH EQUIPMENT ACTUALLY TURNED UP IN EGYPT. HOWEVER, SENIOR MFA OFFICIAL (THYBERG) AS WELL AS MANUFACTURER, FLATLY DENIED SUCH REPORTS TO US IN APRIL, AND ASSERTED THAT GOS WOULD

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STOCKH 04231 070859Z

REGARD RE-EXPORT OF SUCH DEVICES BY YUGOSLAVIA AS VIOLATION OF "UTMOST SERIOUSNESS." (STOCKHOLM 1948). WE ARE AWARE OF SUCH REPORTS FROM BELGRADE AND TEL AVIV, BUT TO BEST OF OUR KNOWLEDGE, THEY HAVE NEVER BEEN CONFIRMED. PENDING SUCH CONFIRMATION, WE DO NOT BELIEVE SWEDES SHOULD BE FAULTED FOR SUCH ALLEGED TRANSFERS.

7. IN SUM, WHILE WE AGREE WITH DEPARTMENT'S INFORMAL  
DECISION TO REFUSE SAAB-SCANIA PERMISSION TO EXPORT  
VIGGEN TO INDIA, WE DO NOT RPT NOT BELIEVE THAT THE  
REQUEST ITSELF SHOULD BE INTERPRETED AS IMPLYING ANY  
WEAKENING OF SWEDISH DESIRE TO PRESERVE ITS MILITARY  
COOPERATION WITH US OR ITS DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN A  
CREDIBLE DEFENSE POSTURE. AS SET FORTH IN OUR U.S.  
POLICY ASSESSMENT AND CONFIRMED BY DEPARTMENT'S  
STATEMENTS OF U.S. POLICY TOWARDS SWEDEN (STOCKHOLM 1572)  
AND STATE 180863), ONE OF OUR PRINCIPLE GOALS IN  
SWEDEN IS THE PRESERVATION OF AN INDEPENDENT, MILITARILY  
STRONG SWEDEN. TO ACHIEVE THIS AIM, IT IS ESSENTIAL  
THAT THE USG CONTINUE TO MAKE AVAILABLE OUR MILITARY  
R&D TO THE SWEDES.  
SMITH

NOTE BY OC/T: EXDIS CAPTION ADDED PER S/S-O, MR. OTTO.

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** MILITARY AIRCRAFT, SALES, STRATEGIC TRADE CONTROLS, END USE CHECKS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 06 AUG 1976  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** izenbei0  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1976STOCKH04231  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Film Number:** D760305-0145  
**From:** STOCKHOLM  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1976/newtext/t19760878/aaaacqgh.tel  
**Line Count:** 131  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Office:** ACTION SS  
**Original Classification:** SECRET  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 3  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** SECRET  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** EXDIS  
**Reference:** 76 STOCKHOLM 4230, 76 STATE 192694  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** izenbei0  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 04 MAR 2004  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <04 MAR 2004 by morefirh>; APPROVED <27 AUG 2004 by izenbei0>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
04 MAY 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** IMPLICATIONS OF SAAB-SCANIA REQUEST FOR U.S. PERMISSION TO EXPORT VIGGEN TO INDIA  
**TAGS:** MASS, PFOR, BEXP, SW, IN, US, SAAB SCANIA  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006